

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 084343

FOR USDEL

FOLLOWING TEL SENT NATO USDEL SALT TWO INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
MOSCOW FROM SECSTATE WASHDC 3 MAY 73 REPEATED:

QUOTE STATE 084343

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: PRINCIPLES MANDATE

REFS: (A) HELSINKI 0916; (B) HELSINKI 770; (C) STATE 52681;

(D) HELSINKI 918; (E) BONN 5383; (F) BONN 5895;

(G) BRUSSELS 2275

1. DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON LIST OF KEY ISSUES CONCERNING
PRINCIPLES MANDATE IN PARA 7 REF (A) FOLLOW. MISSION AND
USDEL SHOULD DRAW ON THESE POINTS AS NECESSARY DURING
DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT:

(A) LINKAGE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND NON-
USE OF FORCE.

ON LINKAGE QUESTION IMPORTANT USDEL KEEP IN STEP
WITH FRG WHICH POSITION WE SUPPORT. LIKE THEM WE BELIEVE
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LINKAGE QUESTION ULTIMATELY MUST BE RESOLVED DURING NEGOTIATION OF DECLARATION ITSELF IN STAGE TWO OF CONFERENCE. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF LINKAGE WERE IMPLIED THROUGH THE SOURCES FORMULATION, SUCH AS A REFERENCE TO THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION, OR THROUGH A GENERAL STATEMENT OF INTERRELATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPLES, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD FOLLOW FRG LEAD IN THIS REGARD.

WE NOTE, HOWEVER, (PARA 8 REF G) THAT EC9 MAY BALK AT STATING INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AS A SEPARATE PRINCIPLE UNLESS A FORMULA IS INCLUDED WHICH WOULD TIE ALL PRINCIPLES TOGETHER. IF AGREEABLE FRG, IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FOR FINAL MPT MANDATE TO BE SILENT, OR NEUTRAL, ON LINKAGE QUESTION. HOWEVER, MANDATE SHOULD NOT CONTAIN LANGUAGE WHICH IS EXPRESSLY CONTRARY TO OR IMPLIES THE ABSENCE OF SUCH LINKAGE, SINCE THIS WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT EFFORTS FRG WILL UNDERTAKE (PARA 2, REF F), DURING NEGOTIATION OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, TO RETAIN LINKAGE ALONG LINES OF FRG- USSR TREATY. IT SHOULD BE NOTED IN THIS REGARD THAT SOVIET FORMULATION ON INTER- RELATIONSHIP REPORTED PARA 3 REF (A) REQUIRES FURTHER CLARIFICATION. THE ORDER OF LISTING OF PRINCIPLES IN THE MANDATE IS ALSO A HELPFUL FACTOR IN LATER ARGUING LINKAGE AND WE BELIEVE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS THEREFORE SHOULD FOLLOW NON- USE OF FORCE IN THE LISTING.

WE UNDERSTAND FRG HAS INFORMED SOVIETS PARA 4, REF(A) THAT LINKAGE QUESTION WILL ONLY BE RESOLVED IN STAGE 2. WE FURTHER UNDERSTAND UK DEL MADE CLEAR AT MARCH 23 MEETING OF DRAFTING MINI- GROUP THAT WORDING OF THE MANDATE WILL NOT PREJUDICE SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. DELEGATION SHOULD TAKE SUCH STEPS AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE THESE TWO POINTS.

(B) SOURCES OF PRINCIPLES

WHILE WE COULD IN LAST ANALYSIS ACCEPT FRG COMPROMISE FORMULATION (REFS B AND A) WHICH WOULD INCLUDE REFERRING ONLY TO " PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF UN CONFIDENTIAL

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CHARTER" AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF LIST OF PRINCIPLES (PROVIDED THAT WORDING OF PARA MAKES CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT EXCLUSIVE SOURCE), THIS IS NOT OUR PREFERRED FORMULATION. ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS, IN DESCENDING ORDER OF PREFERENCE WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS:

- (1) " PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND FRD" (THE

FORMULATION IN THE EXISTING NATO MANDATE).

(2) " PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER, THE ELABORATION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES IN FRD AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE SIS" (AS SUGGESTED PARA 4 REF C).

(3) REFERENCE DIRECTLY TO UN CHARTER WITH NO MENTION OF THE WORDS " PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES".

(4) NO REFERENCE TO ANY SOURCE FOR PRINCIPLES (AS SUGGESTED BY GDR, FOOTNOTE REF (D) AND BY SOVIETS IN BILATERAL CONTACTS AT MPT III).

(5) " PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER".
DELEGATION SHOULD REMAIN ALERT TO POSSIBILITIES AFFORDED
BY PROPOSALS MADE BY OTHER DELS TO OBTAIN MOST PREFERABLE
FORMULATION. IF SOURCE REFERENCE IS ONLY TO THE UN
CHARTER (AS IN OPTIONS 3 AND 5 ABOVE) IT SHOULD NOT BE
PHRASED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EXCLUDE PAR
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